

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

BIB-01 ACDA-05 EA-07 IO-11 /084 W

----- 094268

R 111651Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1058

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3724

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, PL, UR

SUBJECT: PRAVDA ON GIEREK'S MARCH 10 SPEECH

REF: MOSCOW 3645 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. PRAVDA MARCH 11 GIVES THREE LONG COLUMNS TO GIEREK'S MARCH 10 SPEECH TO WARSAW AKTIV WHICH MAKE IT APPEAR THAT GIEREK SIGNED ON TO SOVIET APPROACH ON THE TWO MAJOR SYMBOLIC ISSUES, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND CHINA, WHICH DIVIDED EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS (AND WHICH GIEREK OMITTED FEBRUARY 25 IN MOSCOW) AT THE SOVIET CONGRESS. ON SAME PAGE PRAVDA RUNS ARTICLE BY EAST BERLIN HORIZONT EDITOR SCHWABE IN WHICH FIDELITY TO CPSU OVERFLOWS. EMBASSY WARSAW IS IN BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE WHETHER GIEREK WITHHELD HIS SIGNATURE ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND CHINA UNTIL HE WAS ON HOME GROUND, OR WHETHER SOVIET PRESSURE AFTER CONGRESS COULD HAVE ALSO PLAYED ROLE. FROM HERE, TIMING OF SPEECH -- JUST BEFORE BUNDESRAT VOTE ON PENSION AGREEMENT -- SUGGEST SAME MESSAGE AS WOJNA'S PRAVDA ARTICLE PREVIOUS DAY: POLAND CAN STAND DISAPPOINTMENT IF IT HAS TO, BECAUSE SOVIETS ARE THERE. BUT MESSAGE IS OF COURSE MUCH MORE AUTHORITATIVE COMING FROM GIEREK. END SUMMARY.

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2. PRAVDA MARCH 11 DEVOTES THREE LONG COLUMNS TO WARSAW TASS PARAPHRASE OF GIEREK'S MARCH 10 SPEECH TO WARSAW PARTY AKTIV ON POLISH DELEGATION'S PARTICIPATION IN SOVIET 2TH CONGRESS. AS REPORTED BY TASS, GIEREK REPEATED MOST OF THE CHARACTERISTIC EMPHASES OF HIS FEBRUARY 25 SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS: CPSU HUMANISM AS EXPRESSED IN THE "PEACE PROGRAM", BREZHNEV, THE IMPORTANCE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATION (AND SALT) FOR THE DETENTE PROCESS, "LENINIST NORMS OF PARTY LIFE," RAISING LIVING STANDARDS, ALL IN THE FRAMEWORK OF STURDY INSISTENCE THAT POLAND SUPPORTS THESE FEATURES OF THE SOVIET PROGRAM OF ITS OWN FREE WILL: "I EXPRESSED DEEP APPROVAL OF THE ESPECIALLY DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF POLISH-SOVIET COOPERATION IN ALL AREAS OF LIFE. THIS HAS KEY SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST POLAND AND THE STRENGTHENING OF ITS NEW POSITION IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD (WHICH IS) WORTHY OF THE TRADITIONS OF OUR NATION."

3. AT THE SAME TIME, ACCORDING TO TASS ACCOUNT GIEREK GAVE MUCH MORE STRESS TO SOVIET PREEMINENCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT THAN HE HAD FEBRUARY 25--"THE CPSU IS THE MOST EXPERIENCED DETACHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT..OUR PARTY MAKES BROAD USE OF THIS VALUABLE EXPERIENCE"--AND ADDED TWO ELEMENTS WHICH HAD BEEN STRIKINGLY ABSENT: "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND AN ATTACK ON THE CHINESE.

4. ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, TASS HAS GIEREK SAY THAT THE SOVIET CONGRESS SHOWED IT IS "THE BASIC PRECONDITION" FOR FURTHER SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT; THAT IT IS "ONE OF THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM;" THAT REUNCIATION OF IT "IS EQUIVALENT TO DEPRIVING THE PARTIES OF OUR MOVEMENT OF ONE OF THE IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THEIR IDEATIONAL AND MORAL FORCE." "THE PZPR STANDS DECISIVELY ON THE GROUND OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. WE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THAT AT OUR 7TH CONGRESS, AND ALSO CONFIRMED IT AT THE CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNISTS. THE INTERNATIONALIST POSITION DOMINATED IN THE INTERVENTIONS OF THE HEADS OF FOREIGN DELEGATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE 25TH CONGRESS."

5. THE ATTACK ON CHINA WAS MORE MODERATE THAN RECENT FORAYS BY THE SOVIETS AND MORE ENTHUSIASTIC EAST EUROPEANS, BUT STILL HARSH. "THE POLICY OF THE MAOSIT CHINESE LEADERSHIP," SAID GIEREK, "IS WHOLLY INIMICAL TO SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS;" IT IS CONFIDENTIAL

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DIRECTED AT TORPEDOING DETENTE, AND COOPERATION WITH THE FORCES OF REACTION AND ANTI-COMMUNISM MAKES PEKING A SUPPORT (OPORA) FOR THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM IN THEIR STRUGGLE WITH SOCIALISM. NEVERTHELESS, HE THEN NOTED THE CPSU OFFER IN BREZHNEV'S FEBRUARY 24 SPEECH TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, SAID THE PZPR SHARES THIS POSITION, AND CONCLUDED THAT "WE SUPPORT READINESS TO ESTABLISH NORMAL INTER-STATE RELATIONS."

6. NEXT TO THE REPORT ON GIEREK PRAVDA RUNS THE THIRD OF WHAT IS BECOMING A SERIES OF ARTICLES BY EAST EUROPEAN "PUBLICIST" ON THE SOVIET CONGRESS, THIS TIME BY ERNST OTTO SCHWABE, EDITOR OF THE EAST BERLIN WEEKLY HORIZONT. IT IS A RINGING AFFIRMATION OF FIDELITY TO THE USSR AND CPSU, WITHOUT ORIGINALITY BUT WITH ALL THE USUAL EAST GERMAN ACCENTS, AND A LITTLE WORSE THAN USUAL: "THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC CONSIDERS MONOLITHIC UNITY WITH THE SOVIET UNION..THE BASIS OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY... UNSHAKEABLE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE PREPARATIONS FOR OUR CONGRESS...WILL BE LEARNING THE SOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS OF SOVIET COMMUNISTS, CREATIVE USE OF THE CPSU'S EXPERIENCE."

7. COMMENT. GIEREK HAS NOW SIGNED ON TO THE SOVIET APPROACH TO THE TWO MAJOR SYMBOLIC ISSUES WHICH DIVIDED EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS AT THE CPSU CONGRESS, AT LEAST AS FAR AS PRAVDA'S READERS ARE CONCERNED. EMBASSY WARSAW IS IN A BETTER POSITION THAN WE ARE TO JUDGE WHETHER HE WAS HOLDING HIS SIGNATURE UNTIL HE WAS STANDING ON HOME GROUND, OR WHETHER SOVIET PRESSURE TO REMEDY THE OMISSIONS OF HIS CONGRESS SPEECH AFTER THE FACT WAS ALSO INVOLVED. WHAT-EVER THE MOTIVE, THE TIMING--JUST BEFORE THE BUNDESRAT VOTES ON THE PENSION AGREEMENT--SUGGESTS THAT GIEREK'S MESSAGE IS MUCH THE SAME AS WOJNA'S (REFTEL): IN ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIETS, POLAND CAN STAND DISAPPOINTMENT, IF IT HAS TO.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, SPEECHES, PARTY MEETINGS, COMMUNIST DOCTRINE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW03724
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760093-0737
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760371/aaaackwa.tel
Line Count: 140
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 MOSCOW 3645
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <18 AUG 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRAVDA ON GIEREK'S MARCH 10 SPEECH
TAGS: PFOR, GE, PL, UR, (GIEREK, EDWARD)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006